1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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115 putation when he first joined our party, but it was very soon evident that he was handier, quicker and more intelligent in every way than the other peasant Sinhalese with whom we came in contact. Still later we discovered that by his influence a large clearing had been illegally made in a remote part of the jungle near Nuwaragala, and that on account of this he was doing his best to prevent our coming in contact with the Sitala Wanniya Veddas in whose territory the clearing had been made. Although in this he played us false and caused much needless trouble we found him in other matters a perfectly trustworthy witness, and as he had associated more or less constantly with the Kovil Vanamai Veddas from the age of 10 to 20, there is every reason 161 to accept his account of their condition 25 years ago. At this 221 time there were about 50 families, i.e. some 200 people, who led 621 a wandering hunting life for half of the year, during which time they lived in rock shelters and depended largely on honey; for the rest of the year they paid more or less attention to chena cultivation, growing especially maize and *kurakkan* (*Eleusine coracana*). Two or three families—not necessarily the same *year after year*—would usually wander and hunt together; such groups of families might also make chenas together, though five or six families would often join to make a single chena.

222 Although they had a few guns even 20 years ago, bows and 411 arrows were in common use and much of their hunting consisted 423 of monkey drives. There were no mixed Sinhalese and Vedda 621 chenas then. The Arachi remembers three caves belonging to the ancestors of the present Bandaraduwa Veddas, viz. Walimbagalagalge, Ellavellagalge and Vianbendegalge. Each family was the recognised possessor of one or more rocky hills on which there were colonies of the rock bee, but the whole of the small hunting community would join to collect honey from each hill and the honey was always equally shared.

614 The Kovil Vanamai Veddas belonged to Morane and Unapane and Uru *muruge*. The latter lived apart near Unichai, i.e. between Tumpalamcholai and the coast. The Arachi states 197 that the language has altered during the last 20 years, Tamil 128 tending to displace Sinhalese, thus *tirakkadei*, "nothing," is said

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-S (1907-1908) 1911
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instead of *kodai*, *tiru* being a Tamil word, so that a composite word meaning "really nothing" is now used.

At the present day there are probably no more than a dozen families left as representatives of the Kovil Vanamai Veddas and all of these live on Sinhalese chenas and are in dire poverty. The country has been referred to already as unhealthy, monkeys although abundant are not easily approached especially in the dry season, and other game is scarce. Isolated families have settled down in Sinhalese villages to pick up whatever living they can as occasional hired labourers, and some of these people were seen in a wretchedly starved condition. The most prosperous are three families living on the large Sinhalese chena (Plate XII, figure 1) at Bandaraduwa near Devulani tank. But even with the assistance of the chena these people are not well off, and it appeared that they were no strangers to hunger. Owing to their position on the border of the Sinhalese and Tamil country, they had been influenced by both Hinduism and Buddhism to a certain extent. In spite of this they knew numerous Vedda songs and incantations, and the ceremonies following a death which occurred in the vicinity during our visit clearly demonstrated that foreign ideas formed but a thin stratum overlying their own beliefs.

The Uniche Veddas were not seen in their own country but some men were brought to us by the Forest Ranger, Mr S. Perera, at Maha Oya, where the photograph shown in Plate XII was taken. We have no note that these Veddas were Uru *waruge* men, but it seems probable that they represented the Uru *waruge* community recorded (as mentioned by the Vedda Arachi) on the last page. They had retained their own customs and beliefs very largely and appeared to be living in a condition very similar to the people near Devulani, though perhaps they were better fed.

Sitala Wanniya. After visiting so many decaying or degenerate communities a refreshing state of affairs was found at Sitala Wanniya. Here there were at least four families who were living the life their forefathers had lived for generations without perceptible change. They still found game, honey and yams in quantities sufficient not only to support life, but to leave

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-S (1907-1908) 1911
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and "tame" Veddas, and to come to more recent times, there is evidence that a hundred years ago there were organised communities of house-building Veddas, while certain Veddas received grants of land from the Sinhalese kings, and on these lived as definite village communities until quite recently, probably till within the last half century.

Village Veddas of Uva Bintenne.

Dambani. The present community of Dambani, in the jungle between Kallodi and Alutnuwara, may serve as an example of a village Vedda community. Some twenty families living in tolerably built houses keep buffaloes and cultivate chena, the latter being big enough not only to supply their own wants, but to permit of a lively trade with Sinhalese traders. These Dambani folk have been known to the Arachi of Belligala as a flourishing community in the same social condition for the last thirty years, and he states that they were in this condition in his father's time. A short visit was sufficient to show that here was a community which, though it had lost many Vedda beliefs, still retained others, and was so strong and independent that there was little likelihood of its immediate fusion with the surrounding population. Physically these people (Plate XV, figure 2) though somewhat darker and often of a stouter build than the Danigala Veddas, could not be mistaken for Sinhalese. The Dambani people are unfortunately "show" Veddas, that is to say, people who have been sent for so often by white visitors that they have learnt certain tricks, which they show off directly they see a European, and so constantly demand presents that serious work with them is an impossibility.

A positive advantage which has, however, arisen from this condition, is that these folk have kept up the remains of the so-called Vedda language. The headman in whose district these Veddas are situated is largely responsible for this, for he always speaks to them in their own dialect in harsh tones. He is an extremely kind old man, and answers definite questions perfectly truthfully, yet like so many Sinhalese, he generally says only what he thinks is expected of him, hence, the belief in the fierce sullen ways of the Veddas and their inability to laugh has been

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

105 62 on their chena. We waited here a little while and two Veddas passed, one carrying a gun; we asked them to return to their chena and fetch some of the other villagers. Soon some twenty [191] men and about as many women and children arrived bringing us presents of honey, pumpkins and sweet potatoes. Scarcely any of them presented the Vedda type, they were all distinctly larger and more heavily built. Except their knowledge of their *waruge* and recognition of the Nae Yaku all remains of Vedda customs seemed to have been lost.

Yakure. The inhabitants of Yakure, a village about six miles from Kalukalaeba, call themselves Veddas, though physically (Plate XVI, figure 1) they would pass as Tamils or mixed [84] Tamils and Sinhalese, and show even less evidence of Vedda blood than do the Kalukalaeba people. Their village consists of about 40 mud houses and is compactly built; a great number of cattle was seen grazing outside the confines of the village. Like the Kalukalaeba folk they know their *waruge* and invoke the Nae Yaku, but they have a temple, a simple mud hut, and worship a number of Sinhalese gods. Some men (Plate XVI, figure 2) from a village called Ulpota near Gunner's Quoin were [97] seen here who also appeared to have mixed blood; they knew the "Vedda language," that is to say we were able to get from them about the same number of words as we obtained at Dambani. When one of them was asked when this dialect was used he replied "only when we are sent for by the Government agent or any other white man." Among themselves they speak [191] Sinhalese though they can also speak Tamil as it is largely the language of Tamankaduwa.

Rotawewa. There is a settlement of alleged Veddas at Rotawewa about six miles from Minerriya tank. Concerning these we were told that they cultivated rice, and were in no respect different from the neighbouring Sinhalese, while Mr Jayawardene writes: "There is only one village of Veddas in Sinhala Pattu of Tamankaduwa District, and that village is Rotawewa, about six miles from Minerriya. These Veddas lived on the chase and subsequently took to chena clearings, and when the place began to be frequented by the low-country Sinhalese and other traders, some of them were able to sell their meat to them and

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-S (1907-1958) 1911
AXS Vedda AXS

CHAPTER XV

LANGUAGE

●197 Mr Parker remarks of the Vedda language that it "is to a great extent the colloquial Sinhalese tongue, but it is slightly changed in form and accent. Yet closely as it resembles the latter, these differences and the manner in which it is pronounced render it quite an unknown language when it is spoken to one who has not a special acquaintance with it. Besides this, the Vaeddas use their own terms for the wild animals and some other things about which they often find it necessary to converse. Such words are usually a form of Sinhalese, or admit of Sinhalese or Tamil derivations; but a very few may possibly belong to, or be a modification of words in, their own original language, forming with perhaps a few forms of grammatical expression the only remains of it that have been preserved, with the exception of some doubtful terms found in Sinhalese[1]."

The view taken by Mr Parker concerning the Sinhalese language, though not quite generally accepted, is that held by Geiger, who considers Sinhalese "a pure Aryan dialect," although it contains some words for which he "can find no Aryan origin"; there are, however, "fewer non-Aryan loan words in Sinhalese than there are non-Germanic words in English[2]." In this and the following chapter Geiger's view will be assumed to be correct and we shall deal with the so-called Vedda language, which is but a dialect of

[1] *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 113.

[2] The quotations from Geiger are taken from pp. 86, 87 and 88 of his *Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen* published in 1900 in Bühler's *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie*.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-S (1907-1908) 1911
AX8 Vedda AX8

Sinhalese, as a foreign language which the Veddas long ago adopted in the place of their own.

The obvious phonetic changes from the Sinhalese which we noted in the Vedda dialect were the substitution for the sibilant "s" of the palatal "ch" which though generally retained might be thrown out, thus "head" Sin. *isa* becomes in the Vedda dialect *ihu* or sometimes *icha*, and *gas* the Sinhalese word for "tree" becomes *gai* or *gayi* in Vedda. There may be other phonetic changes which an expert linguist would detect, but certainly the substitution of "ch" for "s" is the change which gives its characteristic harsh quality to the Vedda dialect.

A number of authors have published short lists of Vedda words, that given by the Sarasins being of most importance, for although it consists of only 22 words care is taken to indicate the equivalent in use in each of the Vedda groups visited by the authors. More complete vocabularies have been collected by Bailey and Nevill, and vocabularies have also been published by two native scholars. One of these, who wrote under the *nom-de-plume* A. J. W., Batticaloa, has published his material in a somewhat inaccessible periodical, the *Ceylon Literary Register* (Vol. v, 1891). His information, which includes a number of sentences and lullabies, has evidently been carefully collected and would probably be specially useful to Sinhalese and Sanskrit scholars. Its great defect is that no mention is made of the places where the information was obtained, or the conditions prevailing when it was collected.

Mr A. J. W. Marrambe's publication entitled *The Vedda Language* and apparently printed at Colombo in 1893 which contains some Vedda invocations is of less value, for while it suffers from the same defects it does not appear to have been prepared with the care which characterises the vocabulary in the *Literary Register*[1].

An important if indirect contribution to the study of the Vedda language has recently been made by Mr Parker, who, in *Ancient Ceylon*, gives in parallel columns Nevill's Vedda vocabulary and the equivalents of these words in the Kaelebasa

[1] The identity of initials suggests that the two accounts may be by one author.

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

192 At Sitala Wanniya we learnt for the first time that two classes of words could be distinguished in the Vedda dialect. Words of the first class are commonly employed by the Veddas among themselves or their use is compulsory when hunting or travelling in the jungle; the second class contains words which are used only in invoking the *yaku*.

The monitor lizard commonly called *wunda* becomes in the *yaka* language *bimbada gauska*, "one whose belly touches the ground"; the pig *dola* is called *hosedika*; the spotted deer *gemberupodeya* is called *depatam magala*; the sambar *kankuna* becomes *guura magala*; and the wandura monkey *botakuna* is called *ude kelina*.

These were the only animals which were given *yaka* names at Sitala Wanniya, but betel leaves, usually known as *paenguri kola*, coconut milk *polikiri* and rice *depotulu* all used in offerings to the *yaku* are spoken of on these occasions as *nilikola*, literally "dark leaves," *ran kiri daluo* "golden bud milk" and *hudu kamba* from *sudu sambā*, lit. "white rice," respectively[1].

Probably all the wilder Veddas at one time used special words when addressing the *yaku*, for even at Rerenkadi among the sophisticated Veddas of the chena settlement we heard of the former existence of a *yaka* vocabulary, while at Lindegala the few words of the Vedda dialect that were still remembered were said to have been used especially in *yaku* ceremonies[2].

At Sitala Wanniya we obtained the expressions *yakak kerewitiya*, literally "iron walking staff," for boy, and *kanukawa kilote*, "box for lime" or "lime eating box," for girl. We were not able to satisfy ourselves as to the significance of these metaphors, which were said to be used only in *yaku* ceremonies. According to one account the expression refers to the genitals of the sexes, another explanation states that a boy is a strong support to his relatives, while a girl is as precious as a supply of chewing materials.

198 The hypothesis that the Vedda language arose in part as
197 a secret language explains how it is that at the present day the

[1] *Samba* is the name of a superior variety of rice.

[2] Nilgala, Bendiyagalge and Bandarawewa were all visited before Sitala Wanniya where we discovered the existence of a *yaka* vocabulary, and no questions especially bearing on this matter were asked at these places.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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Vedda dialect is best preserved among the Village Veddas of Bintenne.

The people of Dambani and Bulugahaladena whose condition we have described in Chapter II and whom we have specially in mind as typical Veddas of the Bintenne are precisely in that stage of development in which a secret language would be most useful. They do not lead, and apparently have not for a considerable number of generations led the wandering life which until recently characterised the Veddas living further to the east, nor on the other hand do they even now show any tendency to be absorbed by the peasant Sinhalese of the province in which they live. They in fact constitute small autonomous communities enjoying considerable prestige in the eyes of their neighbours both on account of their ancestry and their reputed fierceness. Not only is their dialect directly useful to them in their trading with the neighbouring Sinhalese, but as we soon discovered their use of what their neighbours consider a language different from their own greatly enhances their prestige.

They have thus had a motive for keeping up if not for enlarging their store of periphrases and metaphors which probably never existed among the wilder, less sophisticated Veddas, who only preserve the old names of certain animals or foods which are used in *yaku* ceremonies or which have become part of their jungle language.

From this point of view we may detect three stages in the evolution of the present Vedda dialect. In the first stage their original language is effaced by an archaic form of the Sinhalese; the formation from this of a large number of secret words constitutes the second stage, while the third stage is represented by the process of substitution of more or less modern and colloquial Sinhalese words for the majority of archaic words and forms, during which process many of the modern words underwent phonetic changes.

The following sentences taken down from men of Bulugahaladena show the characteristics of the Vedda dialect as it survives among the Village Veddas of Bintenne. The notes given after each sentence have been supplied by Mr Gunasekara, the sentences themselves are written down in the form in which

Seligmann & Seligmann E-8 (1907-1968) 1911
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193 creature, one meaning of the Sanskrit word being 'designating,' 'indicating.'"

192 The occurrence of a large number of the non-Sinhalese Aryan
197 words in the Vedda vocabulary seems to us of considerable importance. Many of these words are derived or borrowed from the Hindi and Marathi languages or from Sanskrit words which according to Mr Gunasekara "are seldom or never used in the Sinhalese language."

This implies that these languages must at one time have materially contributed to the formation of Sinhalese, and if it could be determined at what period they had passed into the vulgar tongue in Ceylon, this would give us the earliest date at which the Veddas could have adopted Sinhalese.

197 At present this seems impossible, but valuable suggestions concerning the period or periods at which the northern influence was exerted may perhaps be gathered from the age of the Sinhalese folk-tales of Northern origin collected by Mr Parker from districts in the interior of the Island "where story-books in Sinhalese, Tamil, or Arabic do not appear to have penetrated, and English is unknown by the villagers." This quotation as well as those which follow are taken from the introduction (pp. 37 and 38) to Mr Parker's recent volume *Village Folk Tales of Ceylon*. Mr Parker, after referring to stories due to immigrants from South India, writes as follows concerning those which he considers were brought in by "settlers from the Ganges valley, or near it.

"With regard to the latter, it is not probable that they consisted only of the early immigrants of pre-Christian times. King Nissanka-Malla, who reigned from 1198 to 1207 A.D., has recorded in his inscriptions that he was a native of Sinhapura, then apparently the capital of the Kālinga kingdom, which extended far down the east coast of India, southward from the lower part of the Ganges valley; and he and his chief Queen Subhadrā, a Kālinga Princess, must have brought into Ceylon many of their fellow-countrymen. The Queens of two other earlier Kings of Ceylon were also Princesses from Kālinga.

"In the Galpota inscription at Polannaruwa (Prof. E. Müller's *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, No. 148), he stated that "invited

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-6 (1907-1908) 1911
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by the King [Parākrama-Bāhu I], who was his senior kinsman, to come and reign over his hereditary kingdom of Lakdiva [Ceylon], Vīra Nissaṅka-Malla landed with a great retinue in Laṅkā" [Ceylon]. Further on in the same inscription he stated that "he sent to the country of Kālinga, and caused many Princesses of the Soma and Sūrya races to be brought hither.

"A connexion with the Kālinga kingdom seems to have been maintained from early times. In his inscriptions the same king claimed that the sovereignty of Ceylon belonged by right to the Kālinga dynasty. He described himself in his Dambulla inscription (*Ancient Inscriptions*, No. 143) as "the liege lord of Lakdiva by right of birth, deriving descent from the race of King Wijaya," the first king of Ceylon, who, according to the Sinhalese historical works, was also born at a town called Sinhapura, which is stated to have been founded by his father. In the Galpota inscription we read of "Princes of the Kālinga race to whom the island of Laṅkā has been peculiarly appropriate since the reign of Wijaya."

As we have already stated in Chapter I the story of Wijaya indicates that there was frequent communication between Ceylon and Indian ports; we may now refer to the Mahawansa, in which, as Mr Parker remarks, "there is a definite and credible statement that vessels sailed direct from it [the port of Tāmalitta] to Ceylon in the reign of Asoka in the third century B.C.[1]"

The respectable, if not the extreme antiquity of the Vedda vocabulary is supported by the existence of a few words retaining their common meaning in Vedda and the *kaalebasa* language. Although Mr Parker does not explain the origin of the words in the *kaalebasa* list published in *Ancient Ceylon*, he has given the derivation of a considerable number of words occurring in the *kaalebasa* of Northern Ceylon in the *Taprobanian* (Vol. II, pp. 15—21), in which he discusses the origin and age of the language. Accepting his conclusions "that many of these forms are very ancient;—that they are, in fact, probably survivals from an ancient dialect which was once spoken throughout a

[1] *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, p. 42. The voyage from Tamalitta to Ceylon is mentioned in the *Mahawansa* on page 46. Another voyage from the same port, when the Bo-tree cutting was conveyed to Ceylon, is described on pp. 74, 75. Tamalitta is thought to have occupied the site of the modern Tamluk at the mouth of the Hoogly.

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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great part of the island," the occurrence of such names in Vedda and *kaslebaa* as *maruda* (or *muruda*) for the monitor lizard (Sin. *geya*), and of *maruda* (from *maraka* a destroyer, a hawk, and *lawa* great) for the Brahminy kite (Sin. *ukussa*), shows that the Vedda dialect was formed at least as long ago as that period when the Sinhalese were driven out of the Northern Province by the Tamils[1].

A single Vedda word *aṟṟṟi* or *caṟṟṟi* bird closely resembles the Sakai word *ciaṗ*, *caṗ* or *caṗ*; in spite of the relationship recognised by some as existing between the Veddas and Sakai we hold this similarity to be of no significance, both words probably being onomatopoeic[2].

[1] Referring especially to the Wanniya "a race of hunters" who reside in small villages of badly built houses in the northern part of the North Central Province, extending from Padawiya to Tantrimalai, and who use a number of *kaslebaa* words, Mr Parker writes (*op. cit.* p. 18): "Like the hunters of the North-Western and North-Central Provinces, the Wanniyas make use of the remnants of a special dialect when engaged on their forest expeditions, under the belief that its employment tends to preserve them from wild animals, and to render them successful in their search for honey and meat. This dialect is known as the 'kaslebaa,' jungle language, and the Wanniyas themselves speak only a very few words of it. Other fragments are to be met with among Sinhalese throughout all Northern Ceylon. That these words originally formed part of one language is to be inferred from the fact that not more than a few of the forms which present the most ancient appearance can be specially selected as peculiar to a certain district. In one village, or a group of villages, a few are known; in another, some of the same words and a few others; while some of the words which are used at Padawiya are not only well-known in the North-Western Province, but are even used upon similar occasions in Southern and Eastern Ceylon. Some of them are also among the threshing-floor vocabulary, and a smaller number are employed by Waddas." Again on page 20 we read: "So far as this language is concerned, it may be concluded that the Wannilyas are, as they state, Sinhalese. Taking into consideration the facts that they are found only on or near the northern borders of the Kandian Kingdom, that they (or at any rate such of them as I have met) speak Tamil, and that some of them have Tamil names, and also remembering the particulars which I have given regarding their religion, it may further be inferred that, as their name would seem to indicate, they form a remnant of the ancient Sinhalese inhabitants of what is now the Northern Province. Throughout the whole of this district, extending, in fact, within a few miles of Elephant's Pass, there are abundant proofs that it was once peopled largely by Sinhalese; yet it is doubtful if any other distinct descendants of the former occupants can now be found. The rest of the Sinhalese population may perhaps have almost completely died out, for the inhabitants of the Sinhalese villages in the southern parts of the Province are, with very few exceptions, comparatively recent settlers who have migrated during this century from the North-Central districts."

[2] Mr Gunasekara while not denying that *aṟṟṟi* may be onomatopoeic suggests that it may have arisen as a corruption of the Sanskrit word *pakshi* bird. Mr Parker considers that this word is derived from the Tamil *kaṇṟṟi* (pronounced *kaṇṟṟi*) a fly-eater or bee-eater, from *aṟṟṟu* to chew.

2:Bailey G-5 (ca. 1854) 1863
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Tennent says truly, that they have "no system of caste among themselves; but, singular to say, this degraded race is still regarded by the Singhalese as of most honourable extraction, and is recognised by them as belonging to one of the highest castes;"* and he relates a legend, in which he says this belief originates; a legend, however, at which, he tells us, the Veddahs themselves smile, and of which they profess their ignorance. 648 [564]

As I shall afterwards show, I do not think this legend, which is confessedly not a Veddah tradition, has anything to do with the consideration with which, so far as their caste goes, the Singhalese regard them. Were there no better reason, the fact that the legend is by no means universal among the Singhalese residing in their vicinity, would probably be sufficient reason to reject it.

But Tennent has not been correctly informed with regard to their own belief regarding their own origin. For strange as it appears, they claim to be of royal descent. Beyond this vague assertion they profess to know nothing. They do not attempt to trace their descent from any particular king. They know nothing of their history. This is their *one* tradition; and though the neighbouring Singhalese, on whom they affect to look down, smile at their claim to such an illustrious origin, they do "regard them as of most honourable extraction," and in reply to any inquiry respecting it, only repeat the Veddah version of their royal lineage. It is said, too, that in the time of the native government the Veddahs always spoke of the king as "hoora," or "cousin."† 173

The Veddahs have no particular name by which they distinguish themselves, which would aid us in speculating on their origin. They simply call themselves "Weddah," and are so called, while they speak of the ordinary natives of the country as "Singhalese." The term "Habara," or "wild, barbarous," is applied to Veddahs, in books, and also "Vannacharakiya," which means "a hunter." 101

As Knox has told us, they speak the Singhalese language; but they do so with an accent and intonation so strange, that it sounds like some foreign tongue. It seems, as it were, "broken Singhalese," such as a man would speak to whom the language was an acquired one, so much does their pronunciation differ from that of their Kandyan neighbours. Although the identity between the Veddah dialect and Singhalese is evident, when they are compared with each other, it would require a very quick and accurate ear, indeed, to detect the similarity between them when both are spoken. 191 127

* Tennent, vol. ii, part ix, c. iii.

† It is reported, too, that some Veddahs do not claim royal descent, but that only a portion of them do. The Bicetean and Nilgala Veddahs certainly, say they, are "Raja-wansiya," of royal lineage.

2: Bailey G-5 (ca. 1854) 1863
AX5 Vedda AX5

192 As may be supposed, the vocabulary of such a barbarous race is very limited. It only contains such phrases as are required to describe the most striking objects of nature, and those which enter into the daily life of the people themselves. So rude and primitive is their dialect that the most ordinary objects and actions of life are described by quaint periphrasis. As, for example, to walk is "to beat (the ground) with hammers"; a child is "a bud"; the grains of rice are "round things"; an elephant is not inappropriately termed "a beast like a mountain"; while the fallow deer of the island (*Axis maculata*) are, with the strictest accuracy, called "spotted animals"; and wild boars, "long-snouted ones."*

They use none of the honorifics so profusely common in Singhalese, the pronoun "*to*," "thou" being alone used, whether they are addressing each other, or those whose position would entitle them to outward respect. They can neither read nor write, nor 212 can I trace the faintest vestige of their ever having possessed any literature, in the lowest sense in which that word can be used.† 802 They count with difficulty on their fingers, and so little notion 805 have they of time, that it is difficult to make them understand that they are to keep an engagement at a more remote period than the next day.

I have compared the scant and unsatisfactory collection of 197 words, which I have been able to make, with almost all the vocabularies of the aboriginal tribes of India, published in the *Asiatic Society's Journal*, and though in some of them I have found isolated instances of striking resemblance, these are probably merely accidental. The subject is one which requires further investigation: and a careful examination of the dialect, by any one competent to perform the task, would be interesting, although I question if it would elicit more than we at present know of the origin of the Veddahs.

I append to this paper, as a specimen of their patois, a list of some of their words, distinguishing between those which probably

* It is very curious that the Veddah term for the Ceylon elk, the Samba deer of India (*Rusa Aristotelis*), is "gawra," *vide* Tennent's remarks in his *Natural History of Ceylon*, p. 49, on the tradition of the former existence in Ceylon of the "Bos gaurus" of Hindustan. I have myself heard the "gaur" described by old Kandyans, who have seen it in the mountain forests, as an animal with, as it were, the body of a buffalo and the legs of an elk. And there are many places still bearing the name "gaura," as, for example, besides gaura ellea, mentioned by Tennent, gaura kelle—the forest of the gaur—gaura kanda; and there is a kind of grass called gaura mannia. It is curious that the elk should be called gaura by the Veddahs, and by no one else.

† About ten years ago, the Government established a school for the Veddahs of Bintenne, but it proved a failure.

2:Bailey G-5 (ca. 1854) 1863
AX5 Vedda AX5

differ from the Singhalese, and those which, though Singhalese, are, in the sense here used, peculiar to the Veddahs. It has been suggested to me that some of the former are derived directly from the Sanskrit, but as I am incompetent to judge of the accuracy of these suggestions, I do not venture to give the conjectural derivations which I have received.

I have, myself, noted down, and caused to be noted down from dictation, several Veddah charms, which are not, I am informed, known to the Singhalese, though in some there is a certain resemblance to charms in use by the latter. Whether corrupted during the many ages in which they have been unintelligently repeated, or whether they are in a form of Singhalese now obsolete, or both, they are not easily translated. They are charms used in illness, and for protection against elephants, leopards, bears, and wild boars.

The Veddahs are at present chiefly known by names similar to those in use among the neighbouring Singhalese, and it is curious to observe how oddly they are jumbled together. In one family are to be found names which would only be appropriate to Kandyans of the highest caste, and names which could only be borne by the lowest. Some of their names, too, belong to Hindoos, and not to Singhalese. Some are not proper names at all; while, most strange of all, others, though utterly unknown in Ceylon, either to Tamils or Singhalese, are in common use in Bengal, and refer directly to Hindoo deities, or personages mentioned in the Puránas.

The names of the preceding generation appear to have differed in a very marked manner from the Singhalese names by which the Veddahs now are for the most part known; and those in the list appended to this paper are chiefly the names of the fathers and mothers of the present Veddahs. Most of these I was able, by the kindness of Colonel Vincent Eyre, C.B., R.A., to submit to the inspection of Professor Lees, of Bengal, and they are pronounced by him to have a decided Sanskrit affinity.

It is a singular and significant fact, that not only are many of their names unknown in Ceylon, but their meaning is utterly unintelligible to the Veddahs themselves, among whom they were family designations which have descended to them from father to son for ages.

It is strange that so many have written of the Veddahs, and have been contented with information at once scanty and inaccurate. Davy believed that they had no names.* Tennent affirms that they have no charms—no "instinct of worship"—and doubts

* Davy, *Account of the Veddahs*, p. 115 of his work.

2: Bailey G-5 (ca. 1854) 1863
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174 That the bulk of the aborigines amalgamated with their conquerors, and became one people with them, there is ample proof; but the race of Kuweni probably held aloof from all. She, betraying and betrayed, met her doom on the scene of her treachery.* Her children and immediate kinsfolk, outcasts both from the conquering and conquered races, fled to the forests. A life of isolation was to them not a matter of choice but of necessity. In their seclusion they naturally retained, with the superstition of their mother's people, some remnant of their father's faith, with which they must have been in some degree familiar. They preserved the high-sounding names of India, and, with the pride of rank, adhered to the custom of the marriage of a brother with his younger sister, which was not only the practice of their father's family, but a mark of their royal blood.

Such is the story of the Veddahs. And if my theory be correct it adds a curious chapter to the history of Ceylon.

SPECIMEN OF VEDDAH DIALECT.

(*Vowels to be pronounced as in Italian.*)

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English.	Veddah.	Singhalese.	Remarks.
The sun	Irra podja	Ira	"Podja", probably a corruption of podiya (Singhalese), a small thing.
The moon	Pâna podja	Handa	Pâna (Singh.), a lamp. Handa pâna (Singh.) moonlight.
The stars	Tarâoka gajja	Tarakâwa	"Gajja", probably a corruption of sediya (Singh.), anything round. It can hardly be the Sanscrit word gajja, as it would be inappropriate as regards lights apparently so much smaller than the sun and moon.

vii, p. 371,—"Even the children of Wijaya by his first wife, Kuweni, united themselves with their maternal connections, on the repudiation of their mother, and retained the attributes of the Yakkhos." He refers, as his authority, to the seventh chapter of the *Mahawanso*; but this proves the exact contrary. It is there distinctly stated that, so far from doing so, they were compelled to flee with their uncle to avoid their mother's fate, and that Wijaya himself came to their refuge, assigning to them a place of security from their incensed "maternal connections" in "the Sumanta mountain," probably Saffragam, far removed from the scene of their mother's brief triumph and death (the present district of Putlam).

* One copy of the *Mahawanso* describes the scene of her death as near Tamenawille, *i. e.*, Tamenanewera, near Putlam. Her spirit is still supposed to haunt a well in the neighbourhood, whence she issues forth, invisible, and pelts with great stones rash treasure-hunters who invade her solitude in search of the treasure they believe is buried near.

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English.	Veddah.	Singhalese.	Remarks.
Clouds	Gal périya	Walakula	"Gal" is a stone in Singhalese. In Tamil "kal peria" would signify large stone or rock.
Thunder	Dewóóla andapi	Hena	"Dewóóla" (Singh.), a spirit, a demon, a god; "andapi" (Singh.), has cried out.
Lightning	Giena wetanu	Widuliya	"Gini wetunu" (Singh.), fallen fire.
The sky	Pombina	Ahasa	
The earth	Bimi	Bima	
Water	Diya	Diya	This is also used for rain, for which the Batticaloa Veddahs use "wecha" corruption of "wesse" (Singh.), rain.
Heat	Ginna	Grisma	"Gini" (Singh.), fire.
Cold	Khna	Sitala	I find in "Notes on the Languages of Various Tribes in the Valley of Assam" by Mr. Robinson, inspector of schools in Assam, published in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journals, the word "yen" for cold, in the Khamti, Laos, and Siamese; and "aiyang" in the Khari Naga languages.
Man	Minna	Miniha	
Woman	Mehli	Geni	"Mehmil" (Singh.), an old woman.
Child	Petji Kekula Bilinda Witera	Lamaya	"Petji", corruption of "pencha" (Sing.), a child; "kakula" (Singh.), a bud; "bilindà" (Sihgh.), young—a child; and "witera", a bud; are applied only to the child-spirits—Bilindoo-yakkoo; has been explained before.
Boy	Ammi	Kollà	In the "Notes" before referred to, I find "amie" in the Miri, Abor, and Khari-naga languages, for man.
Girl	Petti	Keli	"Petti" for "penchi" (Singh.), girl.
Father	Appa	Appa	My father, "appa latto"; my mother, "amma latto"; "latto", particle of possession.
Mother	Amma	Amma	
Husband	Hoora	Swamaya	"Hoora" is the Singh. term for that male cousin who is the proper match for a Singhalese girl, viz. her father's sister's, or mother's brother's son. It is traditional that some Veddahs used this term "cousin" when addressing or speaking of the Kandyan kings.
Wife	Nahna	Stri	"Nana" is the Singhalese term for the corresponding female cousin.
Head	Iya, eecha	Isse	
Eye	Eyeyi, eehel	Ekhé	
Nose	Naya	Nahé	
Hair	Eecha kula	Isse keya	"Eeha" for "isse", the head; "kola" (Singh.), leaves.
Body	Bopati	Enga	"Pett" (Singh.), the side of the body; "bo" (Singh.), great. "Pet" is stomach in the Punjabi language.

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English.	Veddah.	Singhalese.	Remarks.
Legs	Dannisbe-doowiga	Kakúla	"Danahis (Singh.), the knee.
Foot	Patoola	Paya or padiya	
Rice	Watu kuru	Hál	"Watu kuru (Singh), a round thing.
Paddy	Dépotoo-lang	Wee	"Dahayá potu" (Singh.), chaff; "lang", having, *i.e.* rice in the husk—paddy.
Honey	Metchan	Meepeni	"Ména" (Singh.), a bee.
A house	Rukkoola	Gé	"Rukula" (Singh.), a hollow tree.
A tree	Guy	Gaha	
A bow	Doongah	Doona	"Doona" (Singh.), a bow; "gaha" (Singh.), a tree.
Arrow	Morianket-tia	Iya	
River	Diyagama	Ganga	"Diyagama" (Singh.), a water course.
Dog	Kuko Kotowa Balo	Bala	"Kukka" (Singh.), puppies.
Buffalo	Walmán-nya	Mee ma, or mee haruk	"Wal" (Singh.), wild. I find in Mr. Hodgson's Vocabularies of the Aborigines of the N.E. of Bengal, that "menjek" or "menjeg", is the word for buffalo in the Miri dialect. The Batticaloa Veddahs say "mee-botah".
Ceylon elk (*rusa Aristotelis*)	Gawra	Góna	The Batticaloa Veddahs call an elk "gôna-botah".
Deer (*axis maculata*)	Kaberra botah	Moowa	"Kaberra" (Singh.), spotted, "botah" (Singh.), an animal. The Batticaloa Veddahs say "moowa-botah".
Pig	Hôta-barria Okma	Oorá	"Hôta" (Singh.), a snout; "barria", heavy or hanging. Okma is only used by them in charms.
Chetah (Ceylon leopard), *felis pardus*	Poletcha	Diwiya, or kotiyah	The Aranas (or "mountain kings" as they call themselves and are called), a hill tribe in Tuine valley, in South India, call a tiger "poochee". In charms, I find "diwi pulliya", spotted chetah, used; but they always speak of a chetah as "poletcha". The Batticaloa Veddahs say "mitá botah"—"mitá", low (in stature).
Bear	Kerri-botah Kerria Arachi Barachi	Walahá	"Arachi" and "barachi" only occur in charms, and it is an evident corruption of the Pali expression "achcha tarachcha"—"achcha" a bear, "tarachcha" a road bear, one which infests roads (tara, a road).*

* I am indebted to Mr. De Zoysa for this interpretation. He adds, "In the Pali Nighandu, 'achcha' is said to mean bear, and 'tarachcha' a bear that bends his neck". According to some, 'tarachcha' is the hyena. Probably the Singhalese writers confused the bear with the hyena, and considered the latter a species of bear.

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English.	Veddah.	Singhalese.	Remarks.
Elephant	Botah kandah Mólah	Alya, or eta (tusks)	"Kandah" (Singh.), a hill or mountain. "Mólah" (Singh.), the thick heavy black pounder used as a pestle in pounding rice—an allusion, probably, to his trunk. The Batticalao Veddahs say "at-botah" and "cotah bebéla".
Monkey	Patagaha-pooeka	Wandura, or rilawa	
Porcupine	Nittawe	Ittawe	
Pengolin (*manis pentadactyla*)	Gal gawra	Kaballiya	
Iguana	Moondé	Talagoya	Called by the Veddahs of Batticalao "goya", "goy-botah", and "hellá".
Lizard	Cat-tombá	Hoona	
Snake	Polongoe	Sarpaya	"Polongo", a very venemous snake. The Batticalao Veddahs call a snake "sarra-botah".
Snail	Tombé	Golu bellá	
A bird	Sappoe Chappoe Sittriaye	Kurulla	In the Assamese and Bengali dialects, birds are called "charai" and "chiriya".
A crow	Kalu eka	Kaká	"Kalu" (Singh.), black, "eka", one.
To walk	Mangwet-tinawa, mittiganawa	Áwadinawa	"Mage" (Singh.), a road; "wettenawa" (do.), to fall; "mittiya" (do.), a hammer; "gahanawa" (do.), to strike.
To jump	Bota damanawa	Paninawa	"Bota" (Singh.), the neck; "damanawa" (do.), to place.
To shoot (with bow & arrow)	Pennagatcha	Widinawa	
To rain	Diya pompanawa	Wahinawa	
To drink	Diya kanawa	Bónawa	"Diya-kanawa", to eat water—not an uncommon expression among the Kandyans.
To eat	Kapat ennawa	Kanawa	
To speak	Katan kiyanawa, & banawanawa	Kiyanawa and kata-karanawa	
To call	Killápeh	Andagahanawa	
To see	Reviga	Dakenawa	
To die	Miyoona Miya pérélligé	Marenawa	"Miyoona" (Singh.), dead; "miya" (do.), dead; "miya perelliya", dead and gone.
To sleep	Nidenawa	Nidagannawa	
I am hot	Baddagana		
I am cold	Bepati sitaganawa		

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English.	Veddah.	Singhalese.	Remarks.
Here	Mobba	Méhi	
There	Obba	E'hi	
Far off	Nekat rata	Dura	
Be quick!	To bang	Wigahata	"To", the pronoun thou; in the Bhotia dialect "bangiyap" is, be quick!
Before	ItchKik	Imaraha	
Behind	PatchKik	Pasé	
Exclamation of approbation	Eetà!		
Exclamation of disapprobation	Ise!		

SPECIMENS OF VEDDAH NAMES.

MEN.

Lókendra. "Sovereign of the World", from Lóka (Sanscrit), "the world", and Indra; unknown among Singhalese or Tamils of Ceylon, but in use in Bengal.

Kanda. The Singhalese call Skanda, the Indian Mars, to whom the famed temple at Katragam is dedicated, "Kanda Kumaryia"; but the word is unknown as a name.

Weyla. One of the names of Skanda.

Suppa is a corruption of Subhramanya, one of the names of Skanda. Both these are Tamil names in use; and I think I have heard Weyla as a Kandyan name, but it is very uncommon.

Skanda is a favourite of the Veddahs (of India), though unknown to the Veddahs here; and "Valli", one of his consorts (a Veddah female name in use among the Veddahs in Ceylon), was said to have been born of a deer in a forest in Arcot, and found by a Veddah chief Kumára (Kumáro was Kuweni's uncle, and Kumá is a Veddah name still in use), and brought up by him.

Kanda, it is true, means, in Singhalese, simply a mountain; but it is more probable that, as a Veddah name, it is a corruption of Skanda, a name descended to them, though they are ignorant of its signification.

Nila. A name in common use in Bengal; also used by Tamils (Hindús); but entirely unknown as a name among the Singhalese. Nila, a personage mentioned in the Puranas.

Bendu. Bindu, in common use in Bengal, but unknown in Ceylon, either among Singhalese or Tamils. There is a common appellation, a title rather than a name, Bandu, in Ceylon; but Bandu does not occur among the Veddahs. Binduwa also is a low-cast name among the Singhalese.

Déwa Deana. Unknown as a name in Ceylon. Equivalent to the Hindú "Deva Dattah", given by the deity—which is its signification in Singhalese.

Milálána. Unknown by Singhalese or Tamils in Ceylon.

Koonchi. From "kuncha" (Sanscrit), to go crookedly—a cripple. In use, with the affix Tamby, among the Tamils, but not in use among the Singhalese.

Kangeria. "Kangana" (Sans.), one of the names of Kandarpa, God of Love. Neither used by Singhalese nor Tamil as a name.

Kowa. No such name among Singhalese or Tamils.

3:Naish G-5 (1925) 1930 AX5 Vedda AX5

123 796 guidance I touched the flowers in acknowledgment. After this the rice which had meanwhile been cooked in the enclosure in front of the shrine was offered to the goddess at the shrine, and the enclosure itself was removed.

The offering of the rice appeared to mark the conclusion of the first stage of the ceremony, for it was followed by a procession of those who were to take part in the subsequent dancing,—apparently accompanied by the image of the goddess,—out of the clearing and, as I was informed, down to the river about half a mile away for the sacred bath.

Time dragged by. The moonlight flooded the clearing, showing the ranks of the spectators sitting in their places with oriental patience and talking in undertones. At last the procession of dancers re-entered the clearing and advanced to the open space in front of the shrine. Here a ritual was gone through which seemed to be intended to induce in the dancers a state of "possession,"[7] and after the performance of this ritual the dances began.

First of all two principal dancers, wearing what were evidently ceremonial jackets of red cloth, took, each of them, in one hand one of the wooden swords previously mentioned and in the other [535] a bunch of leaves, and went in and out among the people with a queer shuffling step and a curious rhythmic brandishing of the swords and leaves. Once or twice the leader stopped, and laying his sword upon the head of some person in the crowd began to [787] prophesy.[8] One prophecy, as interpreted to me by the Chief Headman, concerned the outbreak of cholera, and was in the form

[7] The Seligmanns, on pp. 334-5 of *The Veddas*, discuss at some length the nature of "possession" in the Vedda ritual dances.

[8] My impression at the time was that in uttering these prophecies the leader of the dance used the Vedda language. Certainly the language used did not appear to me to be either Sinhalese or Tamil. It is true that the Seligmanns say, in the passage quoted in the text, that the "old Vedda language" as spoken by the coast Veddas was found to be Sinhalese; but (i) it seems at least possible that the Vedda language may remain to some extent in ritual use among them; and (ii) I was inclined to think that in the ceremony here described the invocation of Rahu Yaka, described by the Seligmanns on pp. 234-9 of *The Veddas*, was combined with the worship of Anuradi and Hapugaha, described by

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of an exhortation to the villagers not to be afraid, as no harm would come to them. It need hardly be said that such a prophecy was extremely *à propos* from my point of view. I began to think that perhaps the Chief Headman was right and the time spent upon the ceremony was not wholly wasted.

The two principal dancers at length finished their dance and returned to their station near the shrine; and in their place ten or a dozen people, with a very old man as *chorager*, danced a similar dance, threading their way among the ranks of the people in single file. From time to time they would suddenly break off their dance, and rushing back tumultuously to the open space about the "maypole" would beat upon the pole with the bunches of leaves which each of them held in either hand, crying "*Wack! wack! wack!*" The Chief Headman, himself a Hindu, gave me the following interesting interpretation of the symbolism of this dance:—"The pole represents Brahma, the Source of Life, and the dancers wandering about among the people represent human life, at the end of which the soul returns to its Creator for a while with glad cries."

Later this dance was again danced by the same persons, led by the two red-jacketed principal dancers. Then the announcement was made that the goddess was coming from the river, and the two principal dancers began a very solemn, ecstatic dance under a canopy. As they danced the excitement grew tenser and tenser and their motions became more and more convulsive. They were firmly held by those near them,—a precaution necessary, the Chief Headman assured me, to prevent them from running amok among the spectators,—and seemed to struggle to shake off the restraint thus put upon them. Gradually, however, their efforts slackened, and they finally sank unconscious upon the ground.[1]

[1] them on pp. 333-9, and that the "principal dancers" mentioned were not count Veddas, but were brought in from outside. The point is one of some interest; but as, unfortunately, I did not go into it at the time, I do not feel at all certain about it.

[1] The Seligmanns say on p. 134 of *The Veddas*, "Most sincere practitioners whom we interrogated in different localities agreed that . . . they never entirely lost consciousness." After the dance here described the

4:Lewis N-5 (ca. 1906-1918) 1919
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houses of lasting character, as neither their instincts nor habits necessitated such procedure. 361

At Kumana alone we find a modification of these conditions, in that the greater part of the land where the village stood is above flood level, and possessed of constant fresh water all the year round, besides being at a spot where there was a prospect of trade.

It should be added that all the many anicuts on this river between Kumana and Kebilitte bear silent testimony to the violence of the floods on the river, and to the once existence of a large population, that probably vanished as soon as these engineering works were destroyed—a population who could enjoy the benefit of the river's floodings by diverting the water into immense tanks, that now are but park-like pieces of jungle. 172

The present inhabitants of the region embraced within the boundaries recorded here are unquestionably of mixed origin, as it is easy to trace on the western limits the pure Sinhalese type of feature, these fading again to a more specific type through the Maha Wellirata, and again changing markedly on the north-east of that country, till it is practically replaced by Tamils in the Panawa Pattu. Thus, it would seem that the Vedda type lay between the Uvan Sinhalese on the west and the Tamil on the east, with the result that frequently one would hear men, while asserting that they were pure Sinhalese, conversing with each other in Tamil. This I found to be actually the case at Bowela, where the villagers insisted that they were of the Goigama caste. 101 162

I was completely baffled in my attempts to secure a vocabulary of Vedda words, though I offered liberal payment for a few lessons in that language. I was pointed out men who were able to speak Vedda, and it was arranged that we should meet, in secret, at a definite time, and at a fixed spot, but when the time came I was told the men had gone away to find stray cattle, or some other equally trumped-up story. 197 198

One night I camped close to some huts in the village of Wattagama, and after my lamp had been put out and I was supposed to be asleep, I heard an animated discussion in the nearest hut, but though I could hear every word, I did not

4:Lewis N-5 (ca. 1906-1918) 1919
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recognise a single expression. The following morning I taxed the people with speaking in Vedda language, but they stoutly declared that they could only speak Sinhalese.

In my opinion the majority of the people of the Maha Wellirata are of Vedda origin, but have discarded their primitive customs as they dwindled in numbers, and while other causes, such as marriage with neighbouring people, tended to still further break down the older customs of the isolated clans that made up the Vedda race as a whole, they still clung in secret to the language of their forefathers, as a binding link and a means of private communication.

At Selavai, in the Panawa Pattu, I found one family who admitted that their grandfather was a real Vedda, belonging to one of the clans occupying the country on the confines of the Kumbukkan river.

From the oldest member of this family I obtained a mass of information respecting the habits and customs of the Vedda people.

According to this individual, who has adopted the Sinhalese name of Diasan Hamy, the Veddas were divided up into a number of warage or clans, each of which occupied and hunted over a specific area of country, and had no connection with the others who lived as separate communities.

The members of each clan were more or less related, and previous to the disintegration of the Veddas as a race, they could not marry any but members of the same warage.

They lived by hunting, in which only the males took part. Their habitations were caves, and occasionally leaf shelters, but the latter were uncommon.

The females were kept in a state of rigid subjection to the males, and could not take part in the chase, ordinary ceremonials, or conversation with any but those who were immediate relations, or the closest relatives of the husband.

If the husband was pleased to throw some meat to his wife, as part of his spoil in the chase, that was all the woman was entitled to. She could not claim a share simply because she was the man's wife.

Under ordinary circumstances, both the males and females were naked, assuming only for special occasions a loin cloth

CHAPTER VI

VEDDAS OF BINGODA

1. BINGODA HOMES

Innumerable years had flown,
Since first the chisel in her hand
Necessity, the sculptor, took,
And in her spacious mansing planned
These forms, and that eternal look.

L. Binyon

[97] [101] Concede me these points and I shall attempt to show that there exist in Ceylon to-day Veddas worthy of the name. Language, apparel and weapons are the concessions I ask.

Let us begin by confessing, that the Veddas we shall tell of have no pure language of their own, but merely a patois, in which Sinhalese words predominate and Vedda words are few; their clothing is not the traditional 291 leaf or threshed *riti* bark, but fragments of foul rag affording, if anything, less cover; the weapons they favour are guns (of a type almost as 411 dangerous to user as to quarry) and not bows and arrows which they employ only in sore necessity.

Vital issues, you will say, which should deprive this people of their name. But language, dress and arms may change without materially altering, for a time at least, ancient customs and primeval instincts.

101 The word Vedda originally meant hunter; and a people supreme in jungle-craft, always capable of gleaning from the unfriendly forests a sufficiency for their needs and utterly incompetent to husband even the primitive agriculture of the *chena*, has surely a claim to the name.

224 [411] [428] It must not be supposed that every Vedda possesses a gun; far from it; occasionally there may be a single weapon to a whole clan. The usual thing is for the Sinhalese or Moors to lend their guns to these superb trackers, who never waste a shot and seldom return without their quarry, a large share of which goes by agreement to the owner of the gun.

114 Of my first accidental meeting with these Veddas amid the hills of Galmeda, I have already told. Barely four months had elapsed before I found myself renewing their acquaintance; this time with set purpose.

Arriving at the forest village of Mullegama, sacred to Buddhists, and abounding in lime groves and Moors, I was fortunate enough to run up against my friend Kaurala of Kottelinde, who, so difficult of acquisition before, now became our willing guide.

131 Bingoda, the home of our Veddas, is some three miles from Mullegama, and lies on the Dhunguilla Oya, a tributary of the Magalavatan Aar which connects Bingoda with Galmeda ten miles away—all in the circuit of